

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: SENTIMENT IN CAPE VERDE AND GUINEA-BISSAU:
FOR INDEPENDENCE, AGAINST MUTUAL UNION

DAKAR POUCH BANJUL AND NOUAKCHOTT

REF: LISBON 2050

SUMMARY: OUR TALKS WITH CAPE VERDIANS AND GUINEANS IN LISBON AND PRESS REPORTS OUT OF BISSAU AND ISLANDS SUGGEST THAT STRONG SENTIMENT AGAINST POST-INDEPENDENCE UNION OF CAPE VERDE AND GUINEA-BISSAU EXISTS. ALTHOUGH MOST CAPE VERDIANS AND GUINEANS WITH WHOM EMBOFFS HAVE HAD CONTACT IN LISBON DESIRE INDEPENDENCE FROM PORTUGAL AND ARE ORGANIZING TO ACHIEVE IT, FOR REASONS OUTLINED BELOW THEY DO NOT DESIRE A UNION WITH EACH OTHER. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFFS HAVE HAD CONVERSATIONS RECENTLY WITH LEADERS OF LIGA POPULAR DOS GUINES, MOVIMENTO DEMOCRATICO DE
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GUINE, UNIAO DEMOCRATICA DE CABO VERDE, DEMOCRATIC

GROUP OF CAPE VERDE AND GUINEA, AS WELL AS WITH CAPE VERDIAN PHYSICIANS AND BUSINESSMEN. IT IS DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE REPRESENTATIVITY OUR CONTACTS, WHO MAY EXPRESS PERSONAL OR MINORITY VIEW, BUT WHAT FOLLOWS COULD WELL BE WIDELY HELD OPINION OF CAPE VERDIANS AND BLACK GUINEANS ON QUESTION OF DESIRABILITY OF POST-INDEPENDENCE UNION.

2. OUR CONTACTS CLAIM INDEPENDENCE FROM PORTUGAL SOUGHT BY MAJORITY POPULATION IN BOTH TERRITORIES BECAUSE OF FEELING OF NEGLECT BY PORTUGAL AND CONCURRENT BELIEF THAT FURTHER GROWTH IMPOSSIBLE UNDER TUTELAGE OF METROPOLE. CULTURAL DIFFERENCES ALSO GIVEN AS REASON FOR INDEPENDENCE SENTIMENT, AND CHARGES OF RACIAL AND WAGE DISCRIMINATION BY EUROPEANS CITED AS CONTRIBUTING FACTORS AS WELL.

3. OUR CAPE VERDIAN CONTACTS SAY MAJORITY IN ISLANDS SUPPORTS PAIGC ONLY FOR SHORT RUN TACTICAL REASONS: THAT IS, THEY FEEL THAT CAPE VERDE MORE LIKELY TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE IF PAIGC IS SUCCESSFUL IN LIBERATING BISSAU, AND ENFORCING ITS CLAIM TO JURISDICTION OVER CAPE VERDE. AFTER INDEPENDENCE, HOWEVER, CAPE VERDIANS WISH TO PURSUE OWN PATH APART FROM GUINEA-BISSAU, WHICH THEY FEEL WOULD BE OF NO ECONOMIC BENEFIT TO ISLANDS, AND AS MUCH A DRAG ON THEIR WEAK ECONOMY AS IT IS ON PORTUGAL'S.

4. GUINEANS TO WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN ALSO SEE NO ECONOMIC BENEFIT FOR THEMSELVES IN FUSION WITH CAPE VERDE. THEY POINT OUT CAPE VERDE'S CULTURAL AND GEOGRAPHIC REMOTENESS FROM GUINEA, AND CLAIM UNITY WOULD IN PRACTICAL TERMS MEAN CONTINUED OR INCREASED SUBJUGATION OF NATIVE POPULATION TO CAPE VERDIAN IMMIGRANT MINORITY. IN THEIR VIEW A FUSION WOULD SIMPLY REPLACE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM WITH CAPE VERDIAN NEO-COLONIALISM. AVERAGE GUINEAN, THEY SAY, RESENTS CAPE VERDIAN IMMIGRANT DOMINATION OF ALL SECTORS LIFE IN TERRITORY AND REMEMBERS BITTERLY THAT CAPE VERDIAN TROOPS USED IN PAST BY METROPOLE TO PUT DOWN REBELLIONS IN PROVINCE.

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5. WHO THEN DOES WANT UNION OF TWO TERRITORIES? OUR SOURCES AGREE THAT CAPE VERDIAN COMMUNISTS IN PAIGC LEADERSHIP IN GUINEA-BISSAU AND NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES ARE PRIMARY FORCES BEHIND INSISTENCE ON INDEPENDENCE AND SUBSEQUENT UNITY OF TWO COLONIES. THEY BELIEVE THAT SOVIET UNION, ACTING THROUGH PAIGC, WISHES TO CONTROL STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT ISLANDS OR PREVENT THEIR USE AS BASE BY WEST. THEY ALSO SEE THIS AS SELF-SERVING ON

PART OF CAPE VERDIANS IN PAIGC WHO FEAR THAT IF TERRITORIES NOT UNITED AFTER INDEPENDENCE THEY WILL BE CONSIDERED ILLEGITIMATE INTERLOPERS BY NEWLY SOVEREIGN GUINEANS, AND ULTIMATELY EXPELLED.

6. AFTER INDEPENDENCE OF BISSAU OUR CAPE VERDIAN AND GUINEAN ACQUAINTANCES BELIEVE THAT LATENT RESENTMENT AGAINST CAPE VERDIAN IMMIGRANT PRESENCE THERE WILL EXPLODE INTO VIOLENCE. CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPE VERDIAN ELEMENTS IN PAIGC LEADERSHIP AND NATIVE GUINEAN MINISTERS IN REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU HELD REMOTE, BUT ACTS OF VIOLENCE BY GUINEAN MAN-ON-STREET AGAINST MIDDLE-LEVEL CAPE VERDIANS HOLDING ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS SEEN AS PROBABLE. ANTICIPATING THIS ANIMOSITY SOME CAPE VERDIAN IMMIGRANT MERCHANTS ARE ALREADY REPORTEDLY PACKING UP AND LEAVING BISSAU.

7. SIMILAR RESENTMENT IN ISLANDS AGAINST METROPOLITAN PORTUGUESE HAS BEEN REPORTED BY AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND UGLY INCIDENTS BETWEEN CAPE VERDIAN BLACKS AND WHITE PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS HAVE OCCURRED, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS. EVEN CAPE VERDIAN MODERATE GROUPS IN ISLANDS AND IN METROPOLE CALL FOR REMOVAL OF NON-CAPE VERDIANS FROM POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES IN ISLANDS AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

8. BOTH CAPE VERDIAN AND GUINEAN LEADERS WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED OPPOSE ATTEMPTS BY EITHER GOP OR PAIGC TO SPEAK FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE PEOPLES AFTER CEASEFIRE PHASE ARRANGED. INSTEAD THEY INSIST ON REFERENDA UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION TO DETERMINE WILL OF PEOPLE. CAPE VERDIANS IN METROPOLE EXPECT, GIVEN SEVERE DROUGHT AND DESPERATE NEED FOR ECONOMIC SUPPORT, THAT CAPE VERDE
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WOULD IN SUCH A REFERENDUM CHOOSE CLOSER POST-INDEPENDENCE TIES WITH PORTUGAL THAN WOULD GUINEA.

9. WHAT IF CAPE VERDE WERE SIMPLY GIVEN TO THE PAIGC BY GOP-PAIGC NEGOTIATORS WITHOUT A REFERENDUM? OUR CONTACTS BELIEVE THIS UNLIKELY, AND POINT OUT THAT PEOPLE WOULD PROTEST AND PAIGC COULD NOT EASILY ENFORCE BY ITSELF SUCH A HANDOVER. THEY HAVE NO TROOPS IN ISLANDS, AND THE 800 CAPE VERDIAN SOLDIERS THERE WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO PREVENT A PAIGC LANDING.

10. COMMENT: IF IT IS IN FACT TRUE THAT PAIGC IS CONTROLLED BY CAPE VERDIAN COMMUNISTS WHO HAVE LEFT ISLANDS, THEN PRESENT INSISTENCE BY PAIGC ON INDEPENDENCE AND FUSION TWO TERRITORIES MAKES SENSE FOR STRATEGIC

AND SELF-SERVING REASONS ALREADY MENTIONED. WE CAN
EXPECT CONTINUED FIRM INSISTENCE ON JURISDICTION OVER
ISLANDS BY PAIGC IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS WITH PORTUGUESE,
AND CONCOMITANT GROWTH OF ANTI-UNION SENTIMENT IN TWO
TERRITORIES.
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